

# The Republican.

No. 5. Vol. 1.] LONDON, FRIDAY, SEPT. 24, 1849. [PRICE 2D.]

## A LETTER TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE REGENT;

On his answer to the Address and Petition of the Citizens of London, in Common Council assembled, praying his Royal Highness to institute an enquiry into the conduct of the Magistrates and Yeomanry Cavalry of Manchester.

SIR,

THE most important epoch of your life has passed. In all ages when a Prince has had the misfortune to preside in a country where the People are pressed to the ground with oppression, emanating either from himself or his advisers there has been a certain period when a disposition has been shewn on the part of the oppressed to effect a reconciliation, and a reformation of abuses with the oppressor or oppressors, by means of petition, or rational argument. For some years past, this disposition has been evident on the part of the People of this country towards you Sir. Their remonstrance has been humble, though dignified; their petition has been made on grounds incontrovertible, and in language unobjectionable, whilst they have been invariably received by you with an insolent *hauteur*, or silent contempt. The last which has been presented to you by the citizens of London has received an answer that crowns the whole, it is at the same time a piece of daring and finished impudence, and coming from a person in your station in life, an irritating, and to you and your family, a piece of dangerous insolence. I shall copy the address and petition, with your answer to it, in this letter, for the purpose of analyzing its parts, and making the proper observations on it.

"The humble ADDRESS and PETITION of the LORD MAYOR, ALDERMEN and COMMONS of the CITY of LONDON, in Common Council assembled.

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"We his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled, humbly approach your Royal Highness, with feelings

R. Carlile, Printer, 55, Fleet Street, London.

of the most serious alarm and regret at the extraordinary and calamitous proceedings which have recently taken place at Manchester.

"We humbly represent to your Royal Highness, that under the free principles of the British Constitution, it is the undoubted right of Englishmen to assemble together for the purpose of deliberating upon public grievances as well as on the legal and constitutional means of obtaining redress.

"That for an exercise of this right a Meeting was held at Manchester on the 16th August last, and without entering into the policy or prudence of convening such assembly, it appears to us, from the information which has transpired, that the said Meeting was legally assembled, that its proceedings were conducted in an orderly and peaceable manner, and that the People composing it were therefore acting under the sanction of the laws and entitled to the protection of the magistrates.

"We have nevertheless learnt with grief and astonishment that while the Meeting was so assembled, and when no act of riot or tumult had taken place, the magistrates issued their warrant for the apprehension of certain persons then present, for the execution of which, although no resistance was made on the part of the People or those against whom the warrants were issued, they immediately resorted to the aid of the military, when, without any previous warning of their intention, the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry suddenly rushing forward, opened a passage through the multitude, furiously attacking by force of arms peaceable and unoffending citizens, whereby great numbers of men, women, and children, and even peace officers, were indiscriminately and wantonly rode over, and many inhumanly sabred and killed.

"We feel ourselves called upon to express to your Royal Highness our strongest indignation at these unprovoked and intemperate proceedings, which we cannot view but as highly disgraceful to the character of Englishmen, and a daring violation of the British Constitution.

"That from your Royal Highness's known and declared attachment to the Constitution and the laws, we feel the most decided conviction that your Royal Highness never could have been induced to express your approval of the conduct of the abettors and perpetrators of these atrocities, had not your Royal confidence been abused by interested and misrepresented statements of these illegal and fatal transactions.

"We humbly submit to your Royal Highness, that at a time when the great body of his Majesty's subjects are suffering under the severest privations, however erroneous may be their ideas as to the means of redress, a kind and conciliating attention to their complaints is equally called for by Policy and Justice; and that depriving them of the means of expressing their grievances by cruelty and despotism, can only tend to increase the present discontents—destroy public confidence in the pure and equal administration of Justice—excite disaffection, and lead to acts of open violence or secret revenge.



"We, therefore, humbly pray, that in order to avert these calamities, to maintain the authority of the law, and to protect the lives and liberties of the subject, your Royal Highness will be graciously pleased to institute an immediate and effectual inquiry into the outrages that have been committed, and cause the guilty perpetrators thereof to be brought to signal and condign punishment.

Signed, by order of Court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE."

This address Sir, has not exaggerated one item of what really occurred at Manchester, it is a plain and confined statement of fact and honest expression, such as it appears you are little accustomed to receive from those by whom you are surrounded; let us now see what is your answer:

"I receive with feelings of deep regret, this Address and Petition of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

"At a time when ill-designing and turbulent men are actively engaged in inflaming the minds of their fellow-subjects, and in endeavouring by means the most daring and insidious, to alienate them from their allegiance to his Majesty and the established Constitution of the Realm; it is on the vigilance and conduct of the Magistrates, that the preservation of the public tranquillity must in a great degree depend; and a firm, faithful, and active discharge of their duty cannot but give them the strongest claim to the support and approbation of their Sovereign and their country.

"With the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester, you must be unacquainted, and of those which attended it you appear to have been incorrectly informed.

"If, however, the laws were violated on that occasion, by those to whom it immediately belonged to assist in the execution of them, the Tribunals of this country are open to afford redress; but to institute an extra-judicial inquiry under such circumstances as the present, would be manifestly inconsistent with the clearest principles of public justice."

Those, Sir, who have been anxious to adhere to yourself and family, have read this answer of your's with much deeper regret than I imagine you received the address with. It has destroyed in their minds all hopes of making you an useful member of the society you preside over. All idea of any further appeal to you on the state of the nation must be abandoned. Your mind is evidently debased and steeled against any effort to ameliorate the condition of the People. Your only ambition appears to be that of a mili-

tary Despot. You have violated the oath of your father, who swore at his coronation, that he would preserve to the People of this country, the benefits of Magna Charta, one article of which expresses that justice shall not be delayed, withheld, or sold. You have denied justice to an injured People. You have countenanced the violation of the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. It was on the pledge of preserving inviolate those privileges, that those of your family who have preceded you, obtained the crown of this country; and, according to its laws and their provisions, you have forfeited your title to that crown.

I will now pause a moment Sir, and reason on your answer to the citizens of London. By that answer, you have passed the sentence of death on that system which you evince a determination to support. You say, "*At a time when ill-designing and turbulent men are actively engaged in inflaming the minds of their fellow subjects, and in endeavouring, by means the most daring and insidious, to alienate them from their allegiance to his Majesty, and the established Constitution of the realm; it is on the vigilance and conduct of the Magistrates, that the preservation of the public tranquillity must in a great degree depend; and a firm, faithful, and active discharge of their duty cannot but give them the strongest claim to the support and approbation of their Sovereign and their Country.*" The charge of ill-design on the part of any portion of the People must be abandoned; it cannot be substantiated against the advocates of equal representation. Those advocates are become by far the greater part of the People, nay, I may venture to say, all save those who are interested in supporting the abuses of the present system, and who can only obtain a competency in idleness by its continuance, and it follows as a natural consequence, that the majority cannot have any ill designs against the minority or the interest and welfare of their country. If men who are clamorous for a change, because they are perishing with hunger, are the turbulent alluded to, we accept the charge and the character, but that turbulence which becomes mischievous and pernicious to the interest and welfare of the community must be sought after in your cabinet. With respect to the charge of inflaming the minds of our fellow-countrymen (not fellow-subjects, for recollect, Sir, that the People of this country are subject to nothing but the laws that have been justly enacted,) I for one, and perhaps one of those alluded to, am proud of the charge, and feel it a



duty to stir up the oppressed against their oppressors, for in that situation do I conceive the People of this country to be placed, with respect to their rulers, by usurpation; and to express my opinion, that no means can be considered too daring, if prudent, to effect such a laudable purpose. With respect to alienating the minds of the People from Majesty, and the established Constitution, to the first it should be observed, there can be no Majesty where there is no virtue; and to the second, that what you Sir, call the Constitution, is not that which the People wished and intended it to be, when they drove James from the throne. Your next observation, although ambiguous, is not that which can be misunderstood. It is your deliberate approbation of the late conduct of the Magistrates of Manchester, whom you applaud for a firm, faithful, and active discharge of their duty—active indeed! for which you have pledged to them your support and approbation, and that of their country. The approbation of their country!! How could you dare to use this expression, when you knew that the whole country had expressed its indignation at their conduct, and that you were then replying to an expression of that indignation from the citizens of the metropolis? You are lost both to sense and to shame, and have quite separated the sovereign from the country. It is now the duty of the citizens of London, which duty I hope they will perform, to demand one more interview with you, not with a *petition*, but with a REMONSTRANCE, and boldly and openly to tell you, that they will withhold all further support from your Government until all their grievances are redressed.

You next charge the citizens of London with an ignorance of the circumstances which preceded the late meeting at Manchester, and with having been incorrectly informed of those which attended it. Pray, Sir, have you or your Ministers sought any other information than that which has been received from the parties who stand ACCUSED OF MURDER by the whole country? Has one out of many hundred disinterested evidences who witnessed the proceedings without being connected with either party been sought after, or been received when offered, to give a faithful account of the transactions between both parties?—I think I may venture to respond NO! The citizens of London did not attempt to address you on the subject until they were prepared with the most unquestionable evidence and positive authenticity of the case. They were not ignorant either of the circumstances that preceded or attended the late meeting at Man-

chester, and the insolent and false assertion has been justly retorted on.

You next observe, that if the laws of the country have been violated by those who should enforce them, (just as if you were unacquainted with that violation) the tribunals of the country are open. You have taken care, Sir, to fill the seats of justice with servile and time-serving men, and Justice herself has been driven from the country. We cannot appeal to the tribunals of the country, because they are not open to us; for a proof of this, we need only refer to the Lancashire Grand Juries. The Sheriff is appointed by you, Sir, and the Sheriff appoints the Grand Jury. As you are the grand mover, you take care that none shall fill an office of this kind who is likely to thwart your views or disposition. Until we have every part of the Government elected by the voice and pleasure of the People, we cannot expect to find any thing in the character of justice in the country.

To attempt to palliate your offences against the People would be a participation of the criminality. The whole body, of which you are now the ostensible head, is one mass of vicious corruption, and it is become too apparent, that its putrifying effects have reached the head itself. The People are beginning to divide themselves both from their avowed enemies in your Administration, and its adherents, and their false-pretending friends, called the Whigs. They are becoming a distinct body, neither whom nor their leaders are to be corrupted. They have already thrown off their self-styled "natural leaders," and have made the noble resolve to trust them no more. This is a most cheering picture—one that will baffle all the arts and trickery of your Ministers to divide.

It was by the intrigues of the British Cabinet at a time when there was something like energy and ability (however misapplied) to be found in it, supported by British resources, and aided by the treachery and cruelty of a Castlereagh, that the rising spirit of freedom was crushed in Ireland at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. But where will you look for energy, ability, or resources, to crush the rising spirit of freedom and emancipation in Great Britain? Will the Holy Alliance afford you that aid? Will their armies be at your service? Be it so. I flatter myself you will find, that Britons will rally round but one standard, and not desert nor shrink from it whilst there is a foreign soldier on the soil. Britons have fought, opposed to each other, from the impulse of superstition—



they have fought for and defended the private quarrels between Despots, and have drawn their swords against each other in their own country—but they never yet fought for LIBERTY. The STANDARD OF LIBERTY will now unite all that are worthy of the soil and the name of Man—and vain will be the effort to oppose them.

You have gone quite as far as Charles when he hoisted his standard at Nottingham. The situation of Charles was very different to your's; the press had not then spread its benign influence, nor were the mass of the People much acquainted with politics, or the abstract principles of government. The case is now very different. Almost every labourer in the country knows the essentials of a Government as well, or perhaps better than some of your Ministers. Your answer to the Citizens of London can only be received as a declaration of war; it breathes but one sentiment, that is, "Do what you please, my confidence is not in you, (the People) but in my Army;" and the People, in return, must be aware that they have no longer any hopes of assistance from you, but are left to obtain the necessary reform by their own physical exertions. The Citizens of London have, as I before observed, one further duty to perform with you, they should retort the insult you have offered them, by addressing you with a remonstrance, expressive of their opinion of your conduct, and their determination to take further steps, in consequence of your insolent refusal to listen to their request.

History affords many precedents of Princes placed in your situation, and as many proofs that you are treading a dangerous path. You have convinced every mind open to conviction, that they have nothing further to hope from you. The advocates for Republican Governments may rejoice at the steps you are taking, as the most essential to produce their object. And with all the distresses of the country, I, for one, cannot repine, because I have an idea, that the more aggravated the accumulated evils become, the more good will finally result from them. You have presided over a race of men who, although they never enjoyed liberty in reality, they are sufficiently enlightened to perceive its benefits, they are pursuing their aim with a steady determination that must ultimately succeed. An opportunity has been offered you, Sir, to make yourself eminently useful in rescuing man from his present degraded condition; you have neglected that opportunity, and in so doing you have degraded yourself in the eyes of all good men, and you will finally become, what many Princes have been before you—the victim of misrule.

R. CARLILE.

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R. CARLILE.

*"But whilst the fund-holder is supported by the labour of the wretched and miserable artisan and agriculturist."*

A correspondent has called on us to explain what he has been pleased to term "the above ambiguous extract from No. 2, of the Republican;" and this we hope to do to the gentleman's satisfaction.

The gentleman is, no doubt, aware that the ground and origin of the funding system is what the People call the Borough-mongers' Debt, and what the Borough-mongers call the National Debt. Now making this our premise which we trust is not erroneously founded, we are justified in drawing the conclusion that every individual, whether virtuous or vicious in his private character, who has thrown his property into what are termed the Funds, is in proportion to the amount of the property so deposited, a supporter of the aforesaid Debt, and the baneful effects on the community at large, or, at least, the operative part of them. Now, we are inclined to admit, that many persons, who are sincere friends to liberty, and who are decided advocates for the Reform of the present state of things, yet possessing some little property, they find it more profitable to speculate for the moment, with that property in those falsely termed Funds, than to apply it to any other purpose. And yet they are in a continued apprehension of danger, and can only appease that apprehension by the imagination of finally securing their property in something more substantial. Sufficient warning has, however, been held out to all persons who are not interested in the support of that system which has its basis on the fickle funding system, and which a short time will undoubtedly prove its total decay. However I might lament the distress that certain individuals will inevitably be exposed to, it is a sufficient consolation, that their loss will be the result of a wilful speculation. Now to the point: as the Fundholders, small as well as great, hold their several shares of this supposed debt, it is evident that the necessaries of life, which are so excessively taxed, to meet the interest of this alleged debt of the People, are not to be obtained in sufficient quantity by the wretched and miserable artisan and agriculturist in consequence of one third of the profits of their labour being required to furnish an interest to the imaginary property of the fund-holder.

We beg to assure our correspondent that we have no intention or desire to hold up to execration the industrious



individual who has accumulated a little property, and thrown it with his future hopes and comforts into so dangerous a gulph; we would rather advise such person to rescue his property whilst there is an opportunity, and save himself from that overwhelming grief, which must inevitably be the result of his continuing the hollow title of a fundholder.

We have no wish to hold out false alarms or *ambiguous expressions*; and after the most deliberate reflection on the quoted sentence, we cannot plead guilty to either. Should the Fundholder who has expressed himself the admirer of this publication, with the exception of the above sentence, feel no objection to continue his title, we hope at least that he will possess the fortitude to meet his predicted loss without murmur or reflection.

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*To the Editor of the REPUBLICAN.*

SIR,

I LAST week laid before your readers a picture of the House of Peers, in which the necessary servility of that body is too plainly seen to need explanation. You must, however, allow me a few more remarks on the subject.

And first I must observe, that many of us, perhaps, might be satisfied with the respect and good opinion of our fellow-countrymen, as an ample reward for any services we could render them; but we must endeavour to provide for the different dispositions of men. In America, that dear seat of Republicanism, that emporium of real liberty, which alone offers to the enslaved world an example of a Government, founded as all Governments should be, on the just principle of political equality—in America, I say, much is attached to the title of “Honourable,” borne by the servants of the state; and depend on it, men of the soundest reason and the greatest abilities will often be found to covet little distinctions of this nature, provided such be in the gift of the People. But the system of hereditary privileges is replete with injustice to the remainder of the nation, and impolicy to the privileged themselves. The existence of such a system, and of a House of Peers, can only be considered as relics of feudal error; and the Peers themselves, collectively, present nothing to our view but elevation without dignity, power without talent, grandeur without munificence, and opulence without charity.

I intend this week to say something on the ecclesiastical part of our constitution. Church Government, or National Religion, abounds with evils, not the least of which is its tendency to disseminate among the body of the People that indolence which is so distinguishingly its own characteristic; and there are always numbers who would prefer submitting to slavery, on settled terms, rather than persevere in defence of a freedom which is only maintained by incessant toil. The injustice of such an establishment will appear in its pressing equally hard on the professors of all tenets, as on its own, and disabling many altogether. But to the broad principle of its necessity.—In a moral sense, it is quite a non-entity—in a political sense, it militates against the general good of the People—and, in a religious sense, it is equally erroneous with those principles of Popery which it supplanted. “The difference between the rich church dignitary of our day, and the luxurious abbot of former times, consists (says an elegant modern writer) in a few speculative theories, which whether they are or are not consonant with reason, can have no real connection with true religion.” And the country is at this moment as much oppressed by the established Clergy, as at the most accursed moment of Popish dominion.

The Druids believed the supreme Deity infinite and immense, and considered that confining his worship to any particular place erected for that purpose, was inconsistent with such glorious attributes; and how absurd soever some of their doctrines were, there was some solidity in this. There is something extremely correct in the idea of the whole universe being the Temple of the Almighty, and the heart of man the only altar of his praise. The eternal laws of Nature are so indelibly impressed on us, that they can never be obliterated. But from the moment we begin to search into the pretended mysteries of religion, we become perplexed, and every attempt to penetrate the maze, staggers our unbelief, makes us sceptics, and seems to throw us back to the first principles; rejecting revelation, and impressing us with the idea that religion is not, in the least, necessary to fix morality and virtue in our breasts.—Therefore, so long only as religion is untainted with any superstition, is it an ornament of our nature, and conduces to happiness and order; but when it becomes contaminated with human power, from that instant does it generate confusion, and become the parent of oppression and misery.



For the support of a Church Government, it is absolutely necessary that superstition should exist; for when Reason is suffered to commence her researches, the acknowledged rights of a clergy, (tythe system and all) tremblingly confess, that no divine patent secures them to their possessors, and avow that their existence is merely owing to the supineness of mankind in placing their consciences under the usurped dominion of priestcraft. In fine, it is perfectly clear, that a church establishment, like that of Great Britain, operates strongly against the spirit, the industry, and the happiness of a free State. And with all these evils, it produces not one real benefit; for we find that with our rich and luxurious Bishops, Archbishops, Deans, and Deacons, our proud and licentious Canons, and Chapters, crime is more frequent and more heinous than ever; and the People of this country not a whit more religious, or moral, than those not pestered by this indolent class of beings. In America, where every religious or philosophical sect is free, it is proved, that comparing the amount of her population with our's, the number of executions is greater in this country in the proportion of 10 to 1. This Atlantic fact speaks volumes. What further proof is, indeed, necessary to assure us, that as to the prevention of vice, our religious expensive establishments are of no avail whatever. The baneful connection which always must exist between Church and King, and which is felt in so many forms, and the immense patronage thrown into the Executive thereby, is so glaring as not to need comment.

That in the event of a change taking place, these remarks may contribute to convince my fellow-countrymen of the mischief of ecclesiastical establishments, is the earnest desire of

Sir, your obedient servant,

46, Speldhurst Street,  
Burton Crescent.

J. A. PARRY.

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### DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

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I. GOVERNMENT has no rights; it is a delegation from several individuals for the purpose of securing their own. It is therefore just, only so far as it exists by their consent, useful only so far as it operates to their well-being.

II. If these individuals think that the form of Government which they, or their fore-fathers constituted, is ill adapted to produce their happiness, they have a right to change it.

III. Government is devised for the security of rights. The rights of man are liberty, and an equal participation of the commonage of nature.

IV. As the benefit of the governed, is, or ought to be, the origin of Government, no man can have any authority that does not expressly emanate from their will.

V. Though all Governments are not so bad as that of Turkey, yet none are so good as they might be; the majority of every country have a right to perfect their Government, the minority should not disturb them, they ought to secede, and form their own system in their own way.

VI. All have a right to an equal share in the benefits, and burdens of Government. Any disabilities for opinion, imply by their existence, barefaced tyranny on the side of Government, ignorant slavishness on the side of the governed.

VII. The rights of man in the present state of society, are only to be secured by some degree of coercion to be exercised on their violator. The sufferer has a right that the degree of coercion employed be as slight as possible.

VIII. It may be considered as a plain proof of the hollowness of any proposition, if power be used to enforce instead of reason to persuade its admission. Government is never supported by fraud until it cannot be supported by reason.

IX. No man has a right to disturb the public peace, by personally resisting the execution of a law, however bad. He ought to acquiesce, using at the same time the utmost powers of his reason, to promote its repeal.

X. A man must have a right to act in a certain manner before it can be his duty. He may, before he ought.

XI. A man has a right to think as his reason directs, it is a duty he owes to himself to think with freedom, that he may act from conviction.

XII. A man has a right to unrestricted liberty of discussion; falsehood is a scorpion that will sting itself to death.

XIII. A man has not only a right to express his thoughts, but it is his duty to do so.

XIV. No law has a right to discourage the practice of truth. A man ought to speak the truth on every occasion, a duty can never be criminal; what is not criminal cannot be injurious.

XV. Law cannot make what is in its nature virtuous or innocent, to be criminal, any more than it can make what is criminal to be innocent. Government cannot make a law, it can only pronounce that which was law before its organization, viz. the moral result of the imperishable relations of things.

XVI. The present generation cannot bind their posterity. The few cannot promise for the many.



XVII. No man has a right to do an evil thing that good may come.

XVIII. Expediency is inadmissible in morals. Politics are only sound when conducted on principles of morality. They are in fact the morals of nations.

XIX. Man has no right to kill his brother, it is no excuse that he does so in uniform. He only adds the infamy of servitude to the crime of murder.

XX. Man, whatever be his country, has the same rights in one place as another, the rights of universal citizenship.

XXI. The Government of a country ought to be perfectly indifferent to every opinion. Religious differences, the bloodiest and most rancorous of all, spring from partiality.

XXII. A delegation of individuals for the purpose of securing their rights, can have no undelegated power of restraining the expression of their opinion.

XXIII. Belief is involuntary; nothing involuntary is meritorious or reprehensible. A man ought not to be considered worse or better for his belief.

XXIV. A Christian, a Deist, a Turk, and a Jew, have equal rights; they are men and brethren.

XXV. If a person's religious ideas correspond not with your own, love him nevertheless. How different would yours have been, had the chance of birth placed you in Tartary or India.

XXVI. Those who believe that Heaven is, what earth has been, a monopoly in the hands of a favored few, would do well to reconsider their opinion: if we find that it came from their priest or their grandmother, they could not do better than reject it.

XXVII. No man has a right to be respected for any other possessions but those of virtue and talents. Titles are tinsel, power a corruptor, glory a bubble, and excessive wealth, a libel on its possessor.

XXVIII. No man has a right to monopolize more than he can enjoy; what the rich give to the poor, whilst millions are starving, is not a perfect favour, but an imperfect right.

XXIX. Every man has a right to a certain degree of leisure and liberty, because it is his duty to attain a certain degree of knowledge. He may before he ought.

XXX. Sobriety of body and mind is necessary to those who would be free, because, without sobriety a high sense of philanthropy cannot actuate the heart, nor cool and determined courage, execute its dictates.

XXXI. The only use of Government is to repress the vices of man. If man were to-day sinless, to-morrow he would have a right to demand that Government and all its evils should cease.

Man! thou whose rights are here declared, be no longer forgetful of the loftiness of thy destination. Think of thy rights; of

those possessions which will give thee virtue and wisdom, by which thou mayest arrive at happiness and freedom. They are declared to thee by one who knows thy dignity, for every hour does his heart swell with honourable pride in the contemplation of what thou mayest attain; by one who is not forgetful of thy degeneracy, for every moment brings home to him the bitter conviction of what thou art.

*Awake!—arise!—or be for ever fallen.*

## BENEFITS OF THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE.

*Concerning which it is presumed few will disagree.*

The abolition of arbitrary and partial imposts.

The abolition of Lettres de Cachet; and all other means by which persons were liable to severe and indefinite punishment without trial or enquiry. The destruction of the Bastile; and of all other places of cruel and inextricable confinement; in which persons, innocent or meritorious, might languish out their lives in extreme suffering and despair; without their imputed crimes, their situation, their life or death, being known to the public, or to any interested in their relief.

The abolition of unknown and unlimited pensions, for no service, or the worst injury to individuals, and crimes the most dangerous against the community.

The extinction of venal hereditary offices of justice.

The surrender of local provincial privileges, incompatible with a general system of national constitution.

The establishment of trial by jury in criminal cases.

The establishment of a representation of the People; full, free, and equalized in a very high degree.

## OTHER BRANCHES OF REFORM,

*Concerning which, it is presumed, a great part of the consistent Friends of Freedom and of Human Happiness will be agreed.*

The encouragement to freedom of enquiry.

The suppression of the summary, arbitrary, and local power of administering justice in confined limits, and not subject to the public eye, exercised by lords of manors.

The suppression of the Game Laws.

The suppression of other partial, arbitrary, and oppressive privileges over the person and property of the People.



The abolition of tythes: and the substitution of the provision for the clergy less discouraging to agricultural improvement; less injurious to the effect of their instructions; and more compatible with peace and good intelligence between them and their parishioners.

The removal of private patronage in the public offices of religious instruction.

The removal of impediments, founded on religious opinion or otherwise, between the capacity, by natural and acquired talents, of serving the state, and the admissibility to its service.

The establishment of a more equitable distribution of property in case of intestacy.

The establishment of societies of peace and conciliation: whereby justice and redress of grievances to their person or property is brought home to the door of every suffering citizen; without expence or delay, or the baneful consequences on the mind and conduct attendant on litigation.

The establishment of domestic tribunals, to prevent indecent, bitter, and in every sense ruinous contests, between near relations.

The practical demonstration that Despotism can have no basis sufficiently firm and ample, against the opinion of an enlightened community and the public will.

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*Benefits likely to accrue from a Reform in the House of Commons, or properly speaking, a Revolution in the affairs of Great Britain and Ireland.*

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THE annihilation of the Borough-mongers' Debt, to pay the interest of which takes one third of the profit of every man's labour.

The abolition of tythes, and all other expensive ecclesiastical establishments, the expence of which, to each labourer, might be fairly stated to be another eighth of the profits of his industry.

The deprivation of the authority of the Monarch, to give at his pleasure enormous grants, sinecures, and pensions to the idle, profligate, and worthless part of the community, which at a fair estimate, deprives the labourer of another eighth of the profits of his industry.

The destruction of bribery and corruption, the only means under the present state of things to obtain any share in the legislature, or any of office of state, to the certain exclusion of all good and upright men.

Toleration in matters of religion, and free discussion on all subjects.

The punishment of every public delinquent, who under the present system, finds shelter and encouragement.

The protection of public morals, which are now neglected by the existing authorities, with a hope, that licentiousness may add to the public revenue.

A free and unrestricted commerce, the only safe and sure reward to industry.

The abolition of Exchequer establishments, and the whole host of tax-collectors, the expence of whom are another eighth of the labour of every man in the country, leaving him scarce a third of the profits of his labour for the support of himself and family. These, Britons, are the benefits to be derived from changing the present system—are they worth contending for?

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### A COURT TRICK; OR, A STATE PLOT.

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SIR THOMAS COOK had been Lord Mayor of London. Being very rich, was accused of high treason under the reign of Edward the Fourth, for lending money to Queen Margaret.

The King so concerned himself in this contrivance, as to let Sir Robert Markham know that if the law was too short to make him a traitor, he was Lord Chief Justice of England, and upon the trial he must stretch it till it would reach his purpose; the confession of one Hawkins, that was racked in the Tower, was the only proof against Sir Thomas Cook, who pleaded his own defence. That it was true that Hawkins did desire a loan of a thousand marks upon sufficient security, but he, understanding who the money was for, refused to lend any. The Judge, in charging the jury, told them it did not amount to high treason, and intimated to them, that they should be tender where life was concerned, and exercise a good conscience. The jury found it accordingly. This action disobliterated the court, and Sir Robert Markham was put out of the office of Lord Chief Justice next day, upon which he retired to a private life with that satisfaction, that as the king had made him no judge, it was not in his power to make him an unjust one.

N. B. Sir Thomas Cook was Lord Mayor of London in the second year of Edward the Fourth, Anno. 1462: the Sheriffs, William Hampton and Bartholomew James, Esqrs.

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